

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 302458

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ORIGIN AF-06

INFO OCT-01 SS-15 ISO-00 EUR-12 IO-10 CIAE-00 DODE-00

PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01

SP-02 USIA-06 ACDA-05 ARA-06 /086 R

DRAFTED BY AF:WESCHAUFLE, JR.

APPROVED BY THE SECRETARY

AF/W:JBISHOP

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R 240325Z DEC 75

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY ACCRA

INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

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E.O. 11652:N/A

TAGS: PFOR, AO, GH, SF

SUBJECT: GOG AIDE MEMOIRE ON SOUTH AFRICAN INVOLVEMENT IN  
ANGOLA

REF: ACCRA 8490

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF REPLY TO GHANAIAAN AIDE MEMOIRE.

1. THE GOVERNMENT OF THE U.S. APPRECIATES THE EXPLANATION  
OF THE GOVERNMENT OF GHANA OF ITS CONCERN ABOUT THE  
SITUATION IN ANGOLA CONTAINED IN ITS AIDE MEMOIRE OF  
DECEMBER 22.

2. THE GOVERNMENT OF THE U.S. HAS ALSO BEEN DEEPLY  
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PAGE 02 STATE 302458

CONCERNED ABOUT THAT SITUATION AND HAS FIRMLY BASED ITS

POLICY ON THAT ADOPTED BY THE CONCILIATION COMMISSION OF THE OAU OF WHICH GHANA IS A MEMBER. THE FUTURE OF ANGOLA SHOULD BE DETERMINED BY THE ANGOLANS THEMSELVES WITH THE HELP OF OTHER INDEPENDENT AFRICAN STATES MEMBERS OF THE OAU. THE GOVERNMENT OF THE U.S. APPLAUDED THE OAU EFFORTS TO CREATE A SITUATION LEADING TO NEGOTIATIONS TOWARD A GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY IN ANGOLA. WE SINCERELY HOPE THESE EFFORTS WILL CONTINUE AT THE SPECIAL SESSION OF THE OAU CHIEFS OF STATE IN JANUARY.

3. UNFORTUNATELY THE SOVIET UNION DECIDED EARLIER THIS YEAR TO MEDDLE IN INTERNAL ANGOLAN AND AFRICAN AFFAIRS BY LAUNCHING A MASSIVE INTERVENTION WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF CUBAN TROOPS, TO IMPOSE A MINORITY MPLA GOVERNMENT IN ANGOLA. THE GOVERNMENT OF THE U.S. DEPLORES AND CONDEMNS THAT ACTION WHICH DOES NOT TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE ASPIRATIONS AND STRUGGLE OF TWO OTHER MOVEMENTS WHICH EMBRACE A MAJORITY OF THE ANGOLAN PEOPLE AND LEADS TO THE UN-ESCAPABLE CONCLUSION THAT THE SOVIET UNION SEEKS A SPECIAL ADVANTAGE IN TRYING TO DOMINATE AN INDEPENDENT ANGOLA.

4. THE RESULT HAS BEEN A BLOODY CIVIL WAR WHICH SERVES NO ONE'S INTERESTS. WITH MASSIVE SOVIET ARMS ASSISTANCE AND SOME 6,000 CUBAN TROOPS THE MPLA HAS PROVED INTRANSIGENT BY REFUSING TO NEGOTIATE WITH UNITA AND THE FNLA, WHICH IN ORDER TO BALANCE THE MILITARY SITUATION AND LEAD THE MPLA TO NEGOTIATIONS HAVE ALSO RECEIVED OUTSIDE ASSISTANCE. THE GOVERNMENT OF THE U.S. HAS NO ASPIRATIONS IN ANGOLA NOR DOES IT SEEK ANY FACILITIES OR FAVORED POSITION. IT IS NOT OPPOSED TO THE MPLA AS SUCH BUT BELIEVES AS ONE OF THE THREE RECOGNIZED PREINDEPENDENCE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS, IT SHOULD BE WILLING TO NEGOTIATE A SOLUTION WHICH PROVIDES EQUITABLE REPRESENTATION OF ALL THREE FACTIONS IN A GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY.

5. THE GOVERNMENT OF GHANA SHOULD KNOW OF THE GRAVITY WITH WHICH THE GOVERNMENT OF THE U.S. VIEWS THIS MASSIVE SOVIET INTERVENTION IN SOUTHWESTERN AFRICA, 8,000 MILES FROM ITS OWN BORDERS AND WELL OUTSIDE ITS TRADITIONAL LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAGE 03 STATE 302458

AREA OF SECURITY INTEREST.

6. THE GOVERNMENT OF THE U.S. IS PROFOUNDLY AWARE OF THE DEPTH OF AFRICAN FEELINGS ABOUT SOUTH AFRICAN INVOLVEMENT IN ANGOLA BUT WISHES TO POINT OUT THAT, TO THE BEST OF ITS KNOWLEDGE, THAT INVOLVEMENT WAS SUBSEQUENT TO SIGNIFICANT DELIVERIES OF SOVIET ASSISTANCE WHICH PERMITTED THE MPLA TO MAKE IMPORTANT MILITARY GAINS.

7. NONETHELESS THE GOVERNMENT OF THE U.S. WISHES TO ASSURE THE GOVERNMENT OF GHANA OF ITS FIRM CONVICTION THAT THERE MUST BE AN END TO FOREIGN INTERVENTION, SOVIET, CUBAN AND SOUTH AFRICAN.

8. THE GOVERNMENT OF THE U.S. HAS NOTED THE INTEREST OF THE GOVERNMENT OF GHANA IN ACHIEVING A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT AND A GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY IN ANGOLA.

THIS IS AN AIM BOTH OUR GOVERNMENTS SHARE. IT WOULD SEEM THAT THE MEETING OF THE OAU CHIEFS OF STATE PROVIDES AN OPPORTUNITY FOR THE AFRICAN STATES TO LAUNCH AN APPEAL FOR THE END OF ALL FOREIGN INTERVENTION IN ANGOLA THEREBY ASSURING THAT NO FACTION HAS ENOUGH MILITARY STRENGTH TO SEEK A MILITARY VICTORY BUT THAT EACH WILL BE PERSUADED TO NEGOTIATE. KISSINGER

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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** INTERVENTION, TROOP WITHDRAWAL, AIDE MEMOIRE  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 24 DEC 1975  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** MorefiRH  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1975STATE302458  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** WESCHAUFLELE, JR.  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** N/A  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** D750447-0146  
**From:** STATE  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1975/newtext/t19751214/aaaaalyk.tel  
**Line Count:** 132  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ORIGIN AF  
**Original Classification:** LIMITED OFFICIAL USE  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 3  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** LIMITED OFFICIAL USE  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** 76 ACCRA 8490  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** MorefiRH  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 25 JUN 2003  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <25 JUN 2003 by ElyME>; APPROVED <10 JUL 2003 by MorefiRH>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
06 JUL 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** GOG AIDE MEMOIRE ON SOUTH AFRICAN INVOLVEMENT IN ANGOLA  
**TAGS:** PFOR, AO, GH, SF  
**To:** ACCRA  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006